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THE BELFRAGES SAIL
They'll return when the Walter-McCarran Act goes

GUARDIAN EDITOR SAILS INTO EXILE

Belfrages leave U.S.; hope to return soon

By John T. McManus

AMERICA BANISHED ONE OF ITS MOST DEVOTED SONS last week in the person of Cedric Henning Belfrage, editor of this newspaper. With his wife, Dr. Josephine Belfrage, the GUARDIAN editor sailed into exile at noon Monday, Aug. 15, on the Holland-American liner **Nieuw Amsterdam** for his native England under a deportation order demanded 27 months ago by Sen. Joseph McCarthy.

An American by choice since he first visited this country at 22, he became a permanent resident in 1937 and would have been a citizen had not his application been denied in 1946 on the ground that his waiting period had run out during his absence overseas in war service.

Author of many popular and important books and world-traveled as a correspondent, he founded the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in 1948 with James Aronson, a New York newspaperman with whom he had served in Europe in the SHAEF press project in Occupied Germany in 1945-46.

VICTIM OF McCARTHY: The deportation proceedings against him resulted from a McCarthy Committee inquiry in May, 1953, into U.S. Army operations in post-war Germany, in which Belfrage refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions relating to his subsequent professional activities and associations. McCarthy demanded that deportation proceedings be instituted against Belfrage. He was arrested the next day and held on Ellis Island for a month before bail was ordered by a federal judge.

During hearings begun in August, 1954, the Immigration Dept. used three FBI informers to identify Belfrage as a Communist in 1937-38. Despite proved perjuries and yawning discrepancies, a final order of deportation was issued May 12, 1955. Belfrage was arrested next morning and almost without interruption had been held in the Federal House of Detention in West St., N.Y.C., until his departure last Monday. When Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan refused to grant bail pending a final Supreme Court review, the GUARDIAN and its editor chose the alternative of an editor-in-exile, rather than in jail for an indefinite period.

THREE DAYS OUT: Under constant guard, Belfrage was allowed three days of the week preceding his departure to wind up his affairs after 29 years

(Continued on Page 3)

"You heard me, a ROUND TRIP!"

UNION-BUSTERS AT WORK

Actors fight back in new witch-hunt aimed at theatre

By Elmer Bendiner

LAST WEEK'S ASSAULT on the theatre by the House Committee on Un-American Activities had been preceded by an artillery barrage that began last December. AWARE, INC., a private organization for the compiling of dossiers, published a blacklist denouncing each member of a slate running for office in the American Fedn. of Television & Radio Artists as associating with a "Communist front apparatus."

The entertainment field had already been plagued by blacklists and blackmail; AWARE seemed the last straw. In May AFTRA voted 197-149 that AWARE be "condemned for interfering in the internal affairs of our union." The N.Y. membership backed that resolution 982-514 in a referendum on July 4.

THE TIMETABLE: On July 12 the House Committee issued subpenas for 27 actors, directors, producers, writers. On July 21 AFTRA's national board, meeting in Seattle, issued a nationwide referendum on the question of authorizing local boards to "fine, censure, suspend or expel" any member who declines to tell a Congressional committee whether he is or ever was a member of the Communist Party.

On Aug. 11, four days before the inquisition's opening, the referendum's results were announced: 3,967 for, 916 against, 60% of the membership not voting. It meant that any AFTRA member who claimed the protection of the Constitution could find himself out of his union and his career, if the local board so decided.

Rarely had any union ever handed such a weapon to a witch-hunting, union-probing committee. The committee's bandwagon was also loaded

(Continued on Page 7)

A PARTING STATEMENT FROM THE GUARDIAN'S EDITOR-IN-EXILE

'Many now illegally banished will come back home'

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

BACK IN 1926 I WAS on the old Leviathan when I first saw Herself here in the harbor, beckoning to the wretched remnants of any and all shores to come and enjoy life in America. I needed little prodding to accept the invitation. I have taken much that was good out of the U.S. and put back what I could into the pot. My lifelong friendships with Americans are a treasure none can take away, and make me a walking advertisement for America's greatest wealth, its people.

I have brought to birth here some fairly bad books, a rather good newspaper and two American children. The paper continues in America as I, a non-citizen through no fault of my own, am forced to leave. The children are already transplanted; they could not but be caught in the salvo of political stink-bombs aimed at their father by Joe McCarthy and Herbert Brownell. The net effect is that for one dangerous alien disposed of, the children and a third American-born citizen—my wife—are sent back where they never came from.

I HOPE THIS IS PROGRESS, but I doubt it. We leave an America that is furiously going forwards and backwards at the same time—evicting native-born from their homes, and foreign-born from the country, because of how they think, and simultaneously preparing to launch satellites to conquer outer space. An America in which the cold war rages on at home while Eisenhower, Bulganin, Chou and the other world leaders strive together to abate the international cold war.

The care and feeding of those whom the U.S. government keeps in jail for real and Alice-in-Wonderland crimes and for no crimes at all is one matter upon which I can report in other countries where—in all except one—I am now free to travel again. It is sad that the greater freedom of thought and movement which was once found by sailing westward is now found by sailing eastward. Of course I know what it is that I have been jailed and deported for, by the cold-war legerdemain that can do this while still charging me with no crime. I am guilty of founding and editing a paper, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, which has refused from the outset to join in the cold war either domestic or foreign, and has consistently fought both.

How else can one explain the huge amounts of taxpayers' money

(Continued on Page 2)

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THE MAIL BAG

"Dear Cedric . . ."

NORTH HAVEN, ME.

In the last issue of the GUARDIAN I read the sad news that you were going into exile and leaving these shores for England. It is of course an outrage that you should be compelled to do this; and a shame that this should be the final outcome after your long and courageous fight against McCarthy and his minions.

We missed you very much at the last GUARDIAN party, with Anna Louise Strong present, at our house. And now we are unhappy that you are going to depart indefinitely without our seeing you again and saying goodbye in person.

Nobody in America has fought McCarthyism more ably and bravely than you. And your long stay in jail in support of civil liberties principles puts my own efforts in the shade. I have hardly suffered a thing in my own legal battle.

There are some signs that the tide is turning now in favor of basic civil liberties. And when the situation has improved sufficiently I hope very much that you will come back to the United States. Meanwhile, all of us will do our best to keep the GUARDIAN going on the high level on which you have established it.

Margaret joins me in sending you affectionate farewell greetings.

Corliss Lamont

Au revoirs for Belfrage

CHICAGO, ILL.

Parting is such bitter sorrow but sweet from many struggles we've been through together. We'll miss your wit, your great fund of information, and you—we envy Great Britain for getting you back temporarily. But we expect you over here again soon with that sharp and wonderful pen of yours and the serious smile.

Best of luck in the meantime and love from all of us.

Rose Rose	**Irv Nebenzahl**
Sam Gibbons	**LeRoy Wollins**
Milton Herst	**Mandell Terman**
Michael C. Levin	**Hervey H. Noyes**
Charlotte Levin	**Helen E. Lewis**
D. K. Wicks	**Milton A. Lewis**
Jean Terman	**Boris Brail**
Elmer Segal	**Samuel Tulmey**
Frank Milman	

"Love, sympathy and admiration . . ."

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I intended to write Mr. Belfrage a letter to tell him that I read his book, **Seeds of Destruction**, and I was agitated to the bottom of my heart. I send this letter to you in the hope that you might find a way to tell him from my part that I read his book with so much fervency as a believer might read the Bible. (Also for the reason that I am a German from Berlin). Would you kindly transmit to him the enclosed water-color of magnolias that I made for him as a sign of love, sympathy and admiration? **"Magnolia"**

On the trailer route

WARREN, O.

We travel "trailer style" and get along very well on our pension, plus some savings. We see a lot of "white tops" who are getting Social Security but who never miss a chance to denounce the New Deal—the damned dummies.

But once in awhile, we do meet someone who knows that score. And without exception, they are all against war. It's too bad that all of them can't read the GUARDIAN. They could change their minds and would if they had something to read besides the standard sheets. **P. H. Wolfe**

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CABOOL, MO.

Enclosed find $5. I will soon be 86 and my health is not good and my income is very small, so that is all I can do. If I am still here when my sub expires, I will renew. Have been a Socialist for about 57 years and before that a Populist and now I am an Atheist, so take it all around I am a very "undesirable citizen." **E. B. Knapp**

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LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

No one regrets more than I my being delinquent in my "two-bucks-of-the-month" to the GUARDIAN.

My husband passed away with a heart attack and the shock has seemed to paralyze me. I am 76 years old and my finances not too flush. In fact, it doesn't look like I'd have enough for subsistence—however, I'm going to send $5—one dollar each for the first five months of 1955. If I find I can possibly continue at $1 a month I shall do so! I couldn't do without the GUARDIAN! **Grace E. James**

For Dr. Furst

RICHMOND, CALIF.

In rebutial to W.R.'s diatribe against Dr. Joseph Furst's excellent book, **The Neurotic:**

It takes more than a surface knowledge of psychology, psychiatry and clinical practice to appreciate the immense significance and value of this deep and scientific appraisal of human nature and the society which makes and molds humans. Someday it will be recognized that Dr. Furst has written a great and honest book.

C. F.

Work on Democrats

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Why not organize a nationwide movement of "progressives within the Democratic Party," hold meetings, write letters, and generally work to affect the policies of the Democratic Party? Effort spent this way has a great deal more chance of accomplishing something constructive than has the formation of a political party, such as we had in 1948 and 1952. Democrats generally, are bound to pay more attention to voices from within, than they are to movements which they consider "communist-dominated," or "political freaks."

Roy S. Farmer

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

A military censorship detachment has been operating in Fallon for a little over a year, according to commanding officer Capt. Paul Arenaz.

The three-man unit composed of Arenaz, 1st lt. Herb Chiara and Cpl. Arthur Vierra meets every Wednesday evening and the group will attend summer training camp in August.

The small detachment is being trained in operation of censorship of newspapers, magazines, radio and other media.

Fallon (Nev.) Eagle

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: C. Beeghly, 198 E. Taylor, Fallon, Nev.

Angels' get-together

TENNESSEE

I'll try to have some kind of a record-playing get-together sometime this month as soon as humanly possible! I haven't forgotten it—just had too many things on me to get to it sooner. I have to get busy and clean some kitchen cabinets this morning—haven't finished my spring (!) house-cleaning yet! **H. L.**

Meanwhile . . .

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

I have talked with a number of people about the necessity—and I mean that—of staging some sort of a GUARDIAN benefit. We don't know just what it will be or exactly when, but we are going to do it. Meanwhile, enclosed is my check for $6 for two new subs. **A. S.**

Who's impatient ?!

BOSTON, MASS.

Please keep your shirt, blouse, halter, or whatever have you, on. I'm extremely busy with personal matters, but I ain't died yet and I've actually been trying to get something rolling. If I did it all myself, I could run a party tomorrow, but that way ain't cricket, so I'm waitin' till I can russell (sic) up some old cow hides. You will hear something from me yet, just wait a few more minutes. **Leo**

Songfest

ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

Recently we had a songfest to raise money for the Belfrage fight and the GUARDIAN. The enclosed $71 was collected during the festivities. **Albuquerque Subscribers**

N. Y. Herald Tribune

"That's the principal's new office. His old one was needed as a classroom."

Do it yourself

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.

There is so much to do and I have very little to do it with. My sister and I laid half of a concrete garage floor last Saturday. That's how we do a lot. But some things just has gotta be done. Enclosed is $10. **Ray Scott**

Profit fodder

DETROIT, MICH.

What has come over supposedly intelligent people, human beings, that they are willing to be pawns and cannon fodder because of business and trade rivalry of profit-made groups? **Eino Hiltunen**

Honorable ally?

PAHOKEE, FLA.

I should like to know how long Uncle Sam can keep his honor, and call Formosa's Chiang Kai-shek his ally? **R. E. Boe**

$$ for needs

SPRINGVILLE, UTAH

The Public Affairs Forum sends $28.50 from contributions and candy sale sat our annual summer GUARDIAN party. Please use it where it is needed most.

(Mrs.) Irma H. Sayer, Secy.

Work in progress

RICHMOND, CALIF.

The post-war insanity seems to be abating. The Bandoeng Conference was a world cornerstone raising eastern nations to a new level. The Geneva Conference has changed unreasoning hostility into a consciousness that both east and west are human; that capitalism and communism can co-exist and bid for world favor. The rapid advance of fascism in this country must be checked and a rational reorganization of our pitiful political mess take place. More than anything our drift to militarism must be stopped. Yours for a restoration of the Republic. **J. N. McCullough**

We need it fast

PULLMAN, WASH.

It seems my right to vote exists in word only. There is no national political group that represents my vote. I cannot consider any "compromised" vote a representative vote. We need a Peace Party and we need it fast!

Unrepresented voter

. . . provided we start

WAPAKONETA, O.

I feel assured that a mass army of over a million who understand the world's social, political, economic and educational conflict, together with their causes, can be organized in a shorter time than some of us expect, provided we start the job on a sound and constructive basis of an evolutionary program of action.

Christ C. Welker

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Vol. 7, No. 44 — 178 — AUGUST 22, 1955

"The . . . alien has indeed been selected as the safest subject of a first experiment; but the citizen will soon follow, or rather, has already followed for already has a sedition act marked him as its prey."

—**Thomas Jefferson** on the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798

'I shall return . . .'

(Continued from Page 1)

and the government's time which have been spent on the McCarthy-Brownell crusade to get rid of so modest a dissenter as myself? This crusade was resisted as well as it could be by three wonderful lawyers and the dollars of thousands of Americans who honored me with their support and contributions. But it has ended with the denial to me of bail pending appeal to the Supreme Court or even for a few final days to clear up my affairs.

Brownell's intention is made obvious by the new vendetta that has been launched against legal and editorial staff members of **The Nation:** to harass out of existence, if he can, any publication that refuses to stop exposing the Salem-stinkbomb-stoolpigeon justice administered by his wretched tribe of sadistic bigots. Government censorship has come to America, only clad in the harlequin's rags labeled Freedom.

THAT I AM BUT A MINOR VICTIM of Brownell's cold war on his own people is very clear to me. I am sentenced to an August ocean voyage while dozens of other dissenters face a prospect of days and nights in jail stretching into an indefinite number of years. The day will come when the people will note what now escapes them, that some of the American Communists now jailed for their thoughts are among the best human beings in the land.

I have been in jail with one of them; we had many discussions and friendly differences of view; but in common with dozens of other inmates, few of them politically-minded, I came to have a deep respect and affection for him as a man.

I LEAVE WITH A CLEAR CONSCIENCE and a heart less heavy than it might have been, since I know two things as definitely as I ever knew anything: that the Walter-McCarran Act under which I am being deported is as unconstitutional as a counterfeit dollar, as Harry Truman said in stronger terms when he vetoed it; and that the people will eventually repeal it just as they ash-canned the Alien and Sedition Laws 150 years ago. When that happens, many now illegally banished will come back, although not this time as refugees from eastern tyrannies but in a world renaissance of freedom and abundance. They will come back because the American land and air and people have become a pleasant habit for them and they cannot stop thinking of America as home.

Among these I and my family will, I believe, be found. For my last words to Lady Liberty I cannot do better than borrow from a certain general on a certain noted occasion: **I shall return.**

Cedric Belfrage

August 15, 1955.

U.S.-CHINA TALKS DEADLOCKED

Scientists at Geneva keep no atom secrets; there aren't any

By Kumar Goshal

THE U.S.-CHINA talks at Geneva remained deadlocked last week over Washington's opposition to Peking's suggestion that India check Chinese students in the U.S. who wish to return home. Asian observers were puzzled by U.S. behavior. They knew Washington accepted Chiang Kai-shek as ruler of all China and opposed UN recognition of Peking. But they found an American Ambassador conferring with a Chinese Ambassador in the Geneva home of the UN, and felt that if the U.S. really wished to promote a world without war, it would have to accept China within the orbit of peaceful coexistence.

However, if Washington was worried over saving its own face and that of its protege Chiang, Asians thought India would make an excellent intermediary for making concessions during the awkward period of transition. **As The Nation** pointed out last week:

> "One of the most convenient and time-honored methods of getting past a diplomatic awkwardness is to arrange concessions through neutral intermediaries. . . . [U.S. opposition to India] makes little sense in view of the obvious necessity for a neutral 'bridge' between this country and the major Communist states to which we are beginning to edge up."

RHEE BACKS DOWN: Meanwhile in S. Korea President Rhee cancelled his ultimatum to the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission "for several days" on assurances that the U.S. "will make efforts soon" to withdraw the commission peacefully. Simultaneously, Rhee's Foreign Minister Cho Chung Hwan and other officials urged the U.S. "to recognize that the [Korean] truce has ended and to resume the fighting" with N. Korea for the unification of the country under Rhee.

News Chronicle, London

"Are you sure your mother sent you for enriched uranium, plutonium, deuterium and heavy water?"

Highly disturbed by this turn of events Peking broadcast an appeal on Aug. 11 to those concerned to

> ". . . convene a Far Eastern conference with broad participation of Asian countries to seek a peaceful settlement of the Korean question."

●

The atoms for peace conference—unlike the U.S.-China talks—opened up new horizons of benefits to mankind in an atmosphere of great cordiality among the scientists gathered at Geneva.

EASY FREEDOM: According to N.Y. **Herald Tribune** correspondent Don Cook (8/14),

> ". . . everybody wanders freely and easily from meeting to meeting, from one pile of atomic documents to another . . . swapping ideas and notes, telling stories and experiences [and] enjoying an easy and friendly exchange of everything from the casual to the theoretical technical."

The following conclusions were already obvious:

● There were no atomic secrets among scientists. Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee chairman Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.) found that "many things that we felt are secrets are not secret any longer"; and Rep. James E. Van Zandt (R-Pa.) "saw things that are still classified by our own people."

● Greatest interest was shown in the potentialities of harnessing the power of the atom bomb—and even more of the hydrogen bomb—for peaceful uses. It was also disclosed that new discoveries promised to reduce costs and increase supplies of nuclear fuels with an energy potential many millions of times greater than coal or oil.

● The British had stolen a march on the others by displaying industrial atomic equipment which they were ready to deliver within a year or two. One American businessman, the N.Y. **Times** reported (8/14), groaned:

> "The British are standing here with their order books in their hands."

● Political and economic considerations, though excluded from the conference, nevertheless were implicit in the discussions as the commercial possibilities of cheap nuclear fuel commanding a world-wide market and perhaps eventually replacing coal and ore became increasingly evident.

● The conference "had further eased international tensions and renewed hope for eventual international control of the atom" (**NYT**, 8/14).

Herblock in Washington Post

"Do you think atomic bombs affect the climate?"

As an indication of "easing of international tensions" the Soviet Union announced reduction of its armed forces by 640,000 before the year ended. The "Geneva atmosphere" was also affecting NATO. N.Y. **Times** correspondent Benjamin Welles reported (8/14) that European governments were "resisting the requisition of valuable farmland for U.S. airfields" because they no longer feared war; and the British were "shifting defense funds away" from military expenditures into "long-range research and development programs."

The political and economic implications of widespread use of nuclear energy for power will be discussed in a forthcoming issue.

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NEGRO NEWS ROUNDUP

Georgia retreats from ban on NAACP teachers

By Eugene Gordon

GEORGIA'S BOARD OF EDUCATION Aug. 1 told school teachers belonging to the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People they must leave the organization by Sept. 15 or lose their teaching licenses "for life." The board threatened also any teacher who "supports, encourages, condones or agrees to teach mixed classes." State Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook sponsored the move despite news reports of widespread criticism of the decree as a denial of freedom of speech and thought control.

The national NAACP promptly challenged Georgia to a court fight and Georgia's State Conference of NAACP Branches announced that special counsel Thurgood Marshall, victor before the Supreme Court in its school desegregation decision, would speak at a meeting Aug. 13 on protecting Negro teachers from official intimidation and speeding up desegregation locally.

Then Georgia on Aug. 15 backed down, Atty. Gen. Cook explaining that existing state laws "go much further in accomplishing this purpose" than was first supposed. Thus the question of teachers' beliefs is left up to local school authorities.

"BRUTAL JIMCROW": Following ten days' bombardment led by the Negro press and the NAACP, Housing & Home Finance Agency administrator Albert M. Cole last week tried to explain away his firing of asst. administrator Frank S. Horne, an assistant and a secretary, all Negroes, for "budgetary considerations." Both press and NAACP saw the reasons for the dismissals in Horne's firm stand for non-segregation clauses in "government-assisted" housing contracts. Negroes have constantly criticized Cole for bias. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) on the House floor pointed out that HHFA appropriations for fiscal 1956 are $2,131,500 over this year's and called the firings "an example of brutal jimcrow."

Cole argued:

> "Dr. Horne . . . has all the rights and preferences to which he is entitled under Civil Service laws and procedures to apply for other positions in the agency for which he may be qualified. This, I understand, he has done, and the agency is now giving consideration to his request for another position."

Dr. Horne, World War I veteran, is a civil service employe with 19 years tenure. His assistant has 20 and his secretary 15. Cole made no reference to those two.

"YOUR FBI": On another front, Exec. Secy. Wilkins wrote Atty. Gen. Brownell that Mississippi Negroes "are in a jungle of race hatred and terror, at the mercy of any hoodlum who chooses to attack." He revealed that a Lowndes County Negro school teacher and his wife received through the mails unsigned death threats because they had registered to vote and that "the president of our state organization in Jackson has had to request police protection." He charged that "no responsible official, from the Governor and the U.S. Senators on down, no institution nor any leading white citizen in the entire state of Mississippi, has spoken out for decency and fair play" and added that, "indeed, the White Citizens Council, assertedly composed of substantial leaders in each county, have encouraged the baiting and intimidation of Negroes."

Wilkins enclosed the original handwritten threats as aid to the FBI. To date, it has never caught or prosecuted a lyncher of Negroes or the kind of terorrist described in the letter.

FLIP-FLOPS: Meanwhile Washington NAACP head and Baltimore Afro-American correspondent Clarence Mitchell blamed Democratic Natl. Committee pressure for "flip-flops on the part of liberals" who protest civil rights riders on important bills. He referred specifically to N.Y. housing expert Charles Abrams, who recently objected to an amendment aimed at ending jimcrow in government-financed housing, and to syndicated columnist Doris Fleeson, who wrote that civil rights "crusades reach a peak where pause must be taken to relax and regroup." She added:

> "Many liberals feel that minority rights reached some such peak with the Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation; certainly, the congressional liberals do."

If Democrats or Republicans think they can "scare off" advocates of anti-jimcrow amendments through Miss Fleeson and Mr. Abrams, Mitchell wrote, "they are making a silly mistake":

> "The record on civil rights, definitely including anti-segregation amendments, will continue to be the yardstick for measuring candidates who seek public office."

Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

an American. His free hours were from 8 to 5 daily, after which he was returned each night to West St. jail. Word of his presence in the GUARDIAN office brought hundreds of friends and subscribers to 17 Murray Street.

At the sailing on Monday, countless others joined GUARDIAN staff members in the farewells, thronging the stateroom and adjoining companionways. Flowers, steamer baskets and other presents of well-wishers filled every corner.

Ship news reporters, TV and newsreel cameramen showed more interest in the Belfrages than in former Secretary of State Dean Acheson, who sailed on the same liner.

New Jersey policedom, apparently expecting some sort of demonstration, had plainclothesmen all over the Holland-American line pier at Hoboken, but the only demonstration they saw was one of heart-felt adieus and tears as the big liner moved into New York Bay, carrying into what all hoped would be temporary exile a man whose entire adult life and talents have been devoted to the building of a better America in a better world.

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CARNEGIE HALL MEET TOLD: NO EXCUSE FOR BOMBING JAPAN

Hiroshima rallies everywhere vow no more atom bombs

AT 8:'15 A.M. ON AUG. 6 the sirens blew in Hiroshima, marking the tenth anniversary—to the minute—of the day the atom bomb dropped from a U.S. plane, snuffed out 100,000 lives and reduced the city to ashes.

Every bell in the city tolled and the 250,000 residents of the rebuilt Hiroshima bent their heads in mourning. Buddhist priests led the prayers in Nakonoshima Park. A tower in the park holds a scroll listing 58,505 of the bomb's dead. This year 523 more were added. Ten years after, the work of identifying the dead was still not over.

At 8:40 a.m. awards were made to 90 who distinguished themselves by rescue work. At 8:50 O. K. Armstrong, former U.S. Congressman from Missouri, handed Mayor Tadao Watanabe a $1,500 set of electric chimes as a "good-will" offering.

DOVES AND LANTERNS: At the close of the ceremonies 500 white doves were released from a cenotaph marking the point of dead center where the bomb landed. In the evening, down Hiroshima's seven rivers floated 10,000 lighted lanterns in tribute to the dead.

More than 5,000 people gathered in Hiroshima Public Hall, close to ground zero, to open a three-day "World Conference to Ban Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs." Added to the Japanese delegates representing civic, religious and peace organizations were a score of representatives from foreign countries. Listed as U.S. delegates were Mrs. Allen Olmstead of the Women's League for Peace and Freedom, and her husband, William Woodward, of the Institute of Intl. Religions, and Miss Fumie Miho, representing the American Friends Service Committee.

The Russian and Chinese delegations were held up in Hong Kong with Japanese visa troubles and arrived toward the end of the conference.

ALL-INCLUSIVE: Though U.S. newspapers belittled the gathering as leftwing, it had the support of Prime Minister Hatoyama; its organizing committee included members of parliament from all political parties, Nobel Prize-winning scientist Hideki Yokuwa, the Presidents of the All-Japan Buddhist Assn. and the Japanese YMCA. More than 100 Japanese organizations sponsored the conference.

Mr. Armstrong popped up without an invitation at the first day's session, was given the floor and "defended the American way" in a 500-word address.

•

In New York on Aug. 10, despite rain and reports of an approaching hurricane, some 2,000 people met in Carnegie Hall under auspices of the Hiroshima Commemorative Committee. There Arthur Upham Pope offered fresh evidence to destroy the last shred of justification for the atom-bombing: military necessity. Pope charged that "a small planning group within the War Dept." hatched the plan; that Admiral Leahy opposed the bombing not only on humanitarian grounds, but also because military necessity had not been shown; that Japan was already on the verge of defeat, its Kwangtung Army routed by the Russians and the homeland blocked by the U.S. Navy; that Japan was already suing for peace.

REMORSE—TOO LATE: Pope revealed that before the bombing high Japanese officials were in direct radio contact with U.S. Naval Intelligence, specifically with Adm. E. M. Zacharias, who spelled out the terms of unconditional surrender. The Japanese had asked Zacharias whether he spoke for the government and Zacharias had answered, "I do." Then, though Pres. Truman had conferred full authority on Zacharias, a State Dept. official publicly denied Zacharias' authority and undercut his peace efforts.

A N.Y. **Times** reporter in the hall asked Pope to reveal the name of the State Dept. spokesman. Pope said it was a Mr. Blake, now quite "remorseful."

Pope said that a suggestion that the bomb be demonstrated on an uninhabited island as a warning to the Japanese was vetoed and that the military thinkers responsible for the bombing picked Japan's "sacred city" of Kyoto, a religious center, destruction of which would have compounded the bomb's horror. Only the overcast over Kyoto spared that shrine and doomed Hiroshima, the alternate target.

SOLE GUARANTEE: Economist Otto Nathan, just returned from scientific conferences in London, told the Carnegie Hall meeting that "one guarantee against a second Hiroshima was to abolish war." He found the rearmament of Germany a "tragedy" and said that Albert Einstein, five years before his death, had told him he was "vehemently opposed" to German rearmament. Nathan drew an ovation when he said:

"It is not enough to do penance. It is necessary to take positive, concrete steps toward a mass peace movement in the United States."

The meeting also heard Rabbi Louis D. Gross, editor of the **Jewish Examiner.** Dr. Royal W. France, attorney and former economics professor at Rollins College, was the chairman. The anniversary's drama was caught for the audience in the lament of a Japanese woman for her husband who "is crying himself to death." The script was written by playwright Barney Rubin, performed by Beulah Richardson. It was part of a production written and directed by Alice Childress.

THE BENTLEY FANTASIA

Hoover's 'accurate' spy queen seen as fraud in new document

IN 1953 FBI DIRECTOR J. Edgar Hoover said of "Spy Queen" Elizabeth Terrill Bentley:

> "She has been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations; her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts, and has been found to be accurate."

Last March William Henry Taylor, former Treasury Dept. official currently employed by the Intl. Monetary Fund, fighting back after eight years of hounding because of Miss Bentley's testimony, followed all the twists and turns of her story. He told a loyalty board investigating him for the 19th time:

> "I have now reached the point in my skepticism that when Miss Bentley makes a positive assertion I hunt for a reversal of it elsewhere in her own testimony. Miss Bentley suffers from a great difficulty—she talks too much, writes too much, and seemingly believes that no one will ever compare one day's outpouring of words with the next. To read and study the record is almost like being present at the Mad Hatter's tea party."

FELLOW - CONSPIRATORS? That double-check by Taylor and his lawyer, ex-Congressman Byron Scott, threatens to expose the whole decade-long witch-hunt as a mad and murderous tea party and makes the FBI and the Dept. of Justice appear as Bentley's fellow conspirators in a gigantic hoax.

Elizabeth Bentley says that in 1938 after three years' apprenticeship as a rank-and-file member of the Communist Party, she became a spy under orders of a man named "Timmy," later identified as Jacob Golos. Miss Bentley described him as a member of the "feared and powerful Control Commission of the U.S. Communist Party, a member of the Russian secret police." Nevertheless he reminded the girl-spy of her New England parents and quickly became "the only man with whom I ever fell deeply in love and who loved me as dearly." Golos could not refute that because he died before Miss Bentley exposed him.

Bentley subpenaed

"SPY QUEEN" Elizabeth Bentley, who has accused 80 persons of espionage and smeared countless others, last week for the first time was due to face one of her victims in open court. She was subpenaed to testify on Aug. 18 in the case of ex-New Deal official Edward J. Fitzgerald, fighting a contempt citation under the new "Compulsory Testimony" Act.

Subpenas have also been issued for Atty. Gen. Brownell and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

DUES FOR THE DEAD: She told how she would gather CP dues from espionage rings in the government. She specified one particular group, allegedly run by economist Victor Perlo, whose funds and documentary haul she would deliver to Golos. Yet by her own admission she met Perlo in March, 1944, when Golos had been dead nearly five months. Miss Bentley, when she testified, had apparently forgotten that her lover, as she has recalled, died in her home on Nov. 25, 1943. The FBI, the juries and courts never noticed the discrepancy but Perlo has been hounded remorselessly on the basis of the Bentley testimony.

In her book **Out of Bondage** Miss Bentley tells how she first discovered that her lover was a spy. In May, 1951, Golos, whom she calls Yasha, walked into her office and pointed to a story in the **N. Y. Times.** She writes:

> "The story, with picture, stated that a Russian engineer by the name of Ovakimian had just been taken into custody by the FBI on charges of espionage. I looked at Yasha enquiringly.
>
> "'That's the man I've been in contact with,' he said sombrely, 'although I didn't know his name until I saw it in the paper. Now I'm afraid we're in the soup. . . . That man whose picture you see in the paper is my superior officer.'"

THE PICTURE THAT WASN'T: Golos had no way of knowing that Ovakimian was his boss, according to Bentley, except by his picture. A check of the **Times** for May, 1951, however, showed no picture of Ovakimian. Taylor's lawyer Scott asked the **Times'** Chief Librarian to check all editions. His reply:

> "We have no record of the picture you are looking for."

The FBI never noticed the slip or found it odd, or noted that in her testimony before Congressional committees and juries she repeatedly said she never knew who Golos' superior was. Nor did they check Bentley's testimony that Golos had studied for four years at Columbia Medical School. Taylor did; Columbia reported no record of him.

Though usually vague about what information she was smuggling to the Russians, Miss Bentley in 1949 told a Senate Committe the Russians "were interested in RDX. We got information on RDX." She called it "a sort of explosive." The **Encyclopedia of Chemical Technology** (Vol. VI, 1951, pp. 39-40) describes RDX in detail, reports it was discovered by a scientist named Henning in 1899 and was "used on a large scale by all major participants" during World War II.

WRONG PLANES: The other "secrets" her alleged "spy rings" delivered to the Russians were about as useful. In 1949 she shocked many by disclosing that her "spies" had advance word of the raid on Tokyo led by Gen. James Doolittle, April 18, 1942. She testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee:

> "The B-29 was a new development during my days and we had a man who was a specialist in B-29. . . . Mr. Ullmann was gradually (sic) put in the Air Corps in the Pentagon where he rose rank by rank from private to major
>
> "Q.: Did you have any information respecting the Doolittle raid on Tokyo which you transmitted as a courier?
>
> "A.: Yes; we knew about that raid, I guess, a week or ten days ahead of time; yes.
>
> "Q.: From whom did you secure the information on that raid?
>
> "A.: That was from William Ludwig Ullmann, who was a specialist, as I understand it, in the B-29 program."

HOW IT CHECKS: The testimony was plainly phony because, as Taylor's counsel discloses: the Doolittle raid on Tokyo used small 2-engine B-25's, not B-29's; Ullmann could not have had access to Air Force information because at the time of the raid he was still in the Treasury Dept. (He was drafted into the Army on Oct., 1942, almost six months after the raid.) The first B-29 raid on any target near Tokyo was on Nov. 29, 1944, and Bentley had testified she last saw Ullmann in Sept., 1944.

Miss Bentley also credited Ullmann with revealing the date of D-Day four days ahead of time. (In other testimony she says he slipped her the "secret . . . far in advance.") The facts are that the invasion of Europe was decided upon—and a rough date set—jointly by the U.S., Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. The Russians were kept informed up to the last second as the timing had to be set and then shifted to meet weather conditions. The precise moment of the D-Day landing was known even by Gen. Eisenhower less than 24 hours in advance.

Miss Bentley testified that Ullmann picked up this impossible information from "high-up Air Corps officers," specifically a Gen. Hildring. At the time Maj. Gen. John H. Hildring had no connection with the Air Corps but was Director of the Civil Affairs Divn. of the War Dept.

On such testimony Ullmann has been badgered and recently recame the first target of the "compulsory testimony" law. New Dealers have been driven from public service and the New Deal, itself, framed on such "evidence."

In forthcoming issues the GUARDIAN will further expose the Bentley fraud and the conspirators who promoted it.

THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — IV

Why the present boom must inevitably come to an end

By Tabitha Petran

(Fourth of a Series)

TODAY America's industrial capacity is roughly double what it was on the eve of World War II. Since 1945 alone it has increased by ⅔.[1] Military expenditures plus construction of this increased capacity (which derived from these expenditures) constituted the main element in the post-war boom. Now these plants and factories are pouring out capital and consumer goods in growing volume.

If the boom is to continue, not only must these goods be saleable at the profit business considers necessary, but a sufficiently expanding market must be assured to spur further business investment in new plant and equipment. Are there sources of effective demand in the U.S. today which would assure such an expanding market?

POST-WAR—AND TODAY: At the end of World War II, the American people had piled up tremendous savings and needs. Consumer debt was at a low point. Total debt owed by individuals and corporations was but 77% of national income. A great backlog of demand for all kinds of goods had been built up and for the first time working people had savings to pay for them. Today the picture is very different.

DEBT: The big unspent assets of all but upper income groups have been absorbed. In addition, there has piled up a tremendous indebtedness. Total debt of corporations and individuals stands at 114% of national income—that is, it exceeds national income; and the spread between the volume of debt and the national income has increased at an accelerated rate.

Credit is necessary to grease the wheels of business. As long as the expansion rate of business continues, more value is created and loans can be repaid. But if credit becomes excessive, repayments must be made by dipping abnormally into current commitments, hence putting a stop to expansion. And if expansion halts, previous credit becomes a drain.

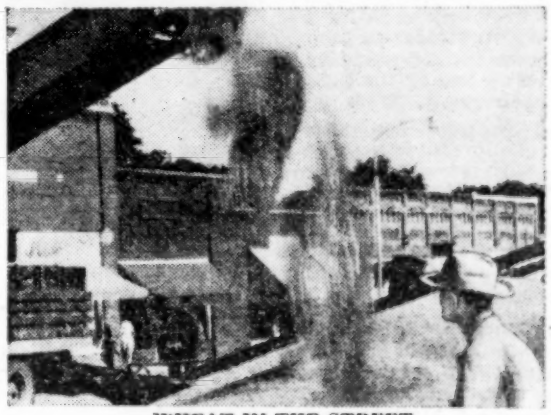
Personal debt (consumer and mortgage) now stands at over $112 billion and is rising at the rate of 14% a year, while the rate of increase of spendable personal income is only 3%. Over the decade consumer debt has multiplied six-fold and is now equivalent on the average to more than $625 per family.[2] Installment debt increased almost 12-fold to reach nearly $25 billion. Mortgage debt has grown from $18 billion in 1945 to $80 billion today.

This rapid debt expansion has squeezed more out of the consumer market but has not created the basis for expanding it. Rather it points to contraction of the market sooner or later. The debt rise, said the **Journal of Commerce** (5/24), is "too fast to be sustained . . . many families will find that debt service and related outlays will cut into the margin of discretionary spending." A slowing down of the rate of increase in personal debt "will dampen one powerful stimulus that the economy has enjoyed since the end of the war."

The conclusion is unavoidable that unless there is some new source to boost consumer purchasing power on a really extravagant basis, there is no long-term need for further capital expansion.

FARM: In 1954, farmers had the smallest share of the national income on record (7.2%, as compared to 12% in 1946) and the lowest income (about $12 billion) since the end of the war.[3] Over the decade, farm income has dropped by ⅓; farm population has fallen from 25¼ million to 22 million; and there was an unprecedented increase in farm productivity. In the last 15 years, output per man hour on U.S. farms almost doubled—rising 83% as compared to an overall increase of 30% for industry as a whole.[4]

The American farm plant, with only 1/13 of the population, is now more than adequate to provide



WHEAT IN THE STREET
But hunger still coexists with abundance

everybody in the country with a sufficient diet. In the 1930's this was true only of grain. Today the spread between farm and factory product prices is the greatest in a decade: since March, 1951, prices of non-farm products dropped 2% while farm prices fell 23%. Behind this slide was huge U.S. farm production, piling up monumental surpluses, and declining foreign markets. All signs point to continuance of this spread, with the government crop appraisal this year predicting the second biggest crop on record. Said **U.S. News** (3/25):

> "Thinking back to the 1920's some economists are now wondering if this long continued trouble in farming may not prove to be a serious weakness for the nation as a whole. History, especially in the '20's, shows that, when farmers suffer over a long period, other business is likely to be hit."

HOUSING: Construction of new homes is running at least double the rate of family formation. The spread between these figures is greater than in any year since the war. The housing boom has been riding on a succession of ever more liberal government credit and payment terms. Such government-guaranteed new housing starts increased from early 1954 to early 1955 more than enough to offset the decline in non-government guaranteed housing.

Insurance and banking companies have protested that the government terms are too easy and are themselves selecting only those applicants to whom they do not have to give such terms. Hence there is no room for further liberalization of terms. (On July 30, the government made its credit policy tougher.) Furthermore, the **Journal of Commerce** (4/11) noted in business circles "a strong suspicion that production of homes—like production of so many other commodities—is running ahead of demand."

CONSUMER DURABLES: Together with housing, auto production has been a principal factor in the recent phase of the boom. Like other consumer durables, the auto market is giving evidence of reaching a saturation point.

Record auto production in 1955's first half represented: (1) a shift in seasonal patterns, hence a borrowing from the future which must be reflected in greater than seasonal setbacks later on; and (2) a rapid accumulation of inventories. Industry estimates a 7 to 7.5 million unit production for 1955—a figure which includes 1956 models to be brought out this fall. If these estimates are correct, production in the second half will have to be cut back to something like a 5.5 million rate.

A large percentage of autos produced are necessary to the functioning of the economy, and during World War II a huge backlog was built up. The industry was kept strong over a period of years, meeting the need to get auto transportation back into shape. What has been holding up the market recently is the scrapping of old cars—today at an annual rate of 4 million. But once auto ages have been brought into balance, this factor will decline. Today 70% of American families own cars; the number of cars on the road is nearly 60 million as compared to 31 million in 1945.[5]

FOREIGN TRADE: U.S. exports represent only a small fraction (6.4% in 1954) of total U.S. production. With competition sharpening in capitalist world markets, there is little opportunity for a meaningful expansion of U.S. trade with these markets. The socialist world does offer expanding markets to capitalist countries. But, as GUARDIAN pointed out (3/14), expansion of such trade requires willingness of capitalist countries to buy in the socialist world, or to extend credits; and, in any case, cannot be accomplished overnight. There is no realistic basis today for an expansion of U.S. trade with socialist countries big enough to offset the accumulated forces already making for a major depression.

THE CONCLUSIONS: On examination, therefore, it becomes clear that the major factors behind the post-war boom are without permanence and carry within themselves the seeds of their own end. This does not mean, however, that the prosperity bubble will burst right away. Predicting the timing of a depression is, in any case, not scientifically possible.

There are several sustaining factors which could keep the boom going for a year or so. Price increases, following on the steel and auto wage settlements, may generate inventory accumulation but this could only mean a sharper drop later. Without raising the arms budget, military spending could be increased several billions a year on authorizations still unspent, leading similarly to an inventory boom. But as the **Illinois Business Review** pointed out (3/55):

> "Every postwar boom has wound up in a major depression and there is no reason to think that this one will have a different ending. Barring large new military programs, this one seems unlikely to continue through the last half of the decade."

The fact that a major cyclical decline lies ahead has important implications for progressives.

1 McGraw-Hill Survey.
2 National City Bank Letter, July, 1955.
3 U.S. News, (3/25).
4 U.S. News (7/15).
5 Wall St. Journal (6/2).

NEXT WEEK: Political implications.

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WASHINGTON WORRIED

N. Africa bid for freedom calls out full fury of French armed forces

THE flaming liberation struggle in France's N. African colonial empire is worrying both Washington and Paris. The U.S. holds air bases there that "provide a great potential threat to the Soviet oil center at Baku" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 7/21). For that reason, Washington "would prefer to see continued French presence in N. Africa" (**N.Y. Times**, 8/1). President Rene Coty has vowed that France "will not abandon . . . these countries which [she] has civilized and enriched" because, as French geography books still solemnly proclaim:

> "It is the overseas territories which confer on France her rank as a great power" (**Newsweek**, 7/11).

But the cost of attempts to suppress the independence movements in N. Africa is threatening to become as prohibitive as in Indo-China. Unrest is still brewing in Tunisia, which has been granted some internal autonomy while France controls the army, the police and foreign affairs, and Frenchmen retain special privileges (GUARDIAN, June 11). Algeria and Morocco are in the throes of violent struggles for freedom.

THE CONTRAST: In Algeria, government-supported French settlers own the best land, pay little taxes, earn an average of $15,000 a year, drive American automobiles despite prohibitive duties on imported cars. The average African farmer earns about $150 a year, goes without shoes (Frenchmen say they "don't care for them"), while the average African worker earns about $2 a week.

The present stage of guerilla warfare for independence began Nov. 1 last year, with swift and ruthless reprisals by French troops killing hundreds of nationalists, jailing thousands and razing whole villages. But the reprisals have only sharpened the struggle; with 120,000 troops recently augmented by a second French division withdrawn from French NATO forces and supported by eight helicopters presented by the U.S., the **Herald Tribune** reported (8/3):

> ". . . France began the tenth month of a fight against an estimated force of 3,000 nationalist guerillas in Algeria this week with no end clearly in sight even though French troops outnumber the guerillas 40 to 1."

A government official declared firmly:

> "L'Algerie c'est la France. It's going to remain so."

VIRTUAL WAR: Morocco, "richest and most strategic of France's N. African possessions," where the U.S. air bases are located, "is technically under a state of siege" (**Newsweek**, 7/11). France has been virtually at war with the Moroccans since she exiled to Madagascar popular, nationalist-sympathizer Sultan ben Youssef two years ago. Today, death stalks the streets of Casablanca, Rabat and other cities where French settler terrorists have taken "the law in their own hands, with police encouragement" (**U.S. News**, 7/1).

France has sent as new Resident General of Morocco former Saar administrator Gilbert Grandval, known as "King Gilbert [for] his tough and intransigent tactics" (**Newsweek**, 7/11). Grandval's job is to inaugurate enough reforms to reduce the Moroccan freedom struggle; his arrival touched off a new wave of French settler terorrism to prevent him from making any concessions to Nationalist demands. The situation in Morocco remained ominous as Aug. 20—second anniversary of ben Youssef's ouster—approached.

FRENCH AFRICA AFLAME FOR FREEDOM
A patrol of foreign soldiers captures a lone Arab (center)

SETS LIMITS: On August 2, Grandval revealed that

> ". . . any concessions to the Moroccan Nationalists and to supporters of . . . exiled former Sultan ben Youssef, [will] be held within limits guaranteeing France's acquired rights in this country" (**NYHT** 8/2).

While the N. Africans fought "crudely . . . but inexorably against French rule," French settlers "with almost fascinating insight for self-destruction" continued to believe that Arab Nationalism "could be stopped somewhere short of total independence—with France still on top."

French Assembly's Defense Committee chairman Pierre Montel's Aug. 7 statement indicated France's determination to remain "on top" of territorially the world's largest colonial empire today. Justifying India Premier Nehru's accusation of NATO as a tool of imperialism, Montel suggested that all French forces in Europe, including troops in NATO, should be sent to N. Africa, perhaps permanently. He had already asked the NATO command to recognize as France's principal mission in the alliance the "defense" of North and Central Africa.

As France fought against the forces of freedom with "tens of thousands of French Union troops . . . plus paratroopers and Foreign Legionnaires," with casualties "getting higher" and the military cost running "upwards of $200 million yearly," a French sergeant told a **Newsweek** correspondent (7/11):

> "It's beginning exactly as in Indo-China."

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Actors fight back against probe

(Continued from Page 1)

with stand-bys left over from Sen. McCarthy's heyday: Alliance, Inc., American Coalition of N. Y., United Americans Against Communism. Seventy persons, including several professional informers, signed a statement hailing the committee and Alliance staged a "Welcome to New York" rally for the witch-hunters on the inquisition's opening day.

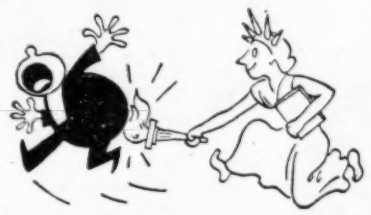
RESISTANCE: The resistance also organized. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee took large ads in the daily papers, charging:

"The committee seeks to gain its ends by intimidation, not legislation. As the price for continued employment, citizens are asked to humiliate themselves or give up the basic constitutional rights of the First and Fifth Amendments."

The ECLC scheduled a protest meeting for Wednesday, Aug. 17. The Civil Rights Congress picketed the Alliance rally.

OPENING DAY: The committee met its firmest resistance from the people it subpenaed. Questions by committee counsel Frank S. Tavenner plainly revealed the committee's prime interest was AFTRA, that it was hitting back at those who had condemned AWARE's original blacklist.

All seven of those called on opening day, although knowing that their life's work and future livelihood were at stake, flatly refused to compromise on the issue of the Constitution vs. the witch-hunt. All saw the inquisition as an attack on the theatre and disputed the committee's authority. Five took the Fifth Amendment; two others declined on more sweeping Constitutional grounds and were threatened with contempt.



Only three committee members were on hand for the much-ballyhooed session: chairman Francis Walter (D-Pa.), Gordon Scherer (R-Ohio), and Edwin E. Willis (D-La.). They opened with George (Buddy) Tyne, lately seen on Broadway in **Lunatics and Lovers.** He had been blacklisted out of Hollywood by the testimony of actor-informer Lee J. Cobb and when Tavenner quoted Cobb, Tyne said:

"I place no value in the word of a stoolpigeon who curries favor and tries to get money."

Tyne cited his Constitutional rights in declining to answer Tavenner's questions, but did not specify the Fifth.

TIRED QUESTIONS: John Randolph (recently a guard in TV's **Captain Video** and on Broadway in **House of Flowers**) told the committee he was currently playing a summer-stock production of **Much Ado About Nothing** and he hoped the Congressmen would not think that fact irrelevant. He took the Fifth.

Stanley Prager **(Pajama Game)** and Martin Wolfson **(South Pacific)** also took the Fifth but only after a series of thrusts at the witch-hunt. Wolfson drew Walter's fire when he said:

"I think informing has become a profitable industry because of this committee."

By afternoon a routine had been established. Comedian Phil Leeds (who has appeared with Jimmy Durante, Milton Berle, Victor Borge) complained of "the same tired old questions" which he refused to answer because

". . . .they involve what I say, what I think, what I do in my spare time."

RUNS IN THE FAMILY: Sarah Cunningham **(The World of Sholem Aleichem),** wife of John Randolph, said she could not answer Tavenner's questions and still be true to her ancestors, who settled the country, fought in the Revolution, signed the Declaration of Independence. The attractive actress, in a picture hat, gently corrected Tavenner who began by calling Rachel Productions "Rapnael Productions" and ostentatiously stumbling over "Sholem Aleichem" as if the words were too much for him.

The day's brightest moments came in the testimony of comedian Lou Polan (currently in **Bus Stop**) who flatly told the committee he would not answer any questions about the theatre. His voice booming over the stormy objections of Tavenner and Walter, Polan insisted on reading his reasons for refusing to answer. In the end Walter said the committee would record his refusal but refuse to hear his reasons. That set a legal problem for the inquisitors, who could scarcely charge contempt without assailing his grounds for refusal to answer, grounds they had refused to hear.

NO MORE MARTYRS: In his statement, only snatches of which could be heard in the uproar—but which he later released to the press—Polan disputed the Committee's authority, recalled that theatre figures Mady Christians, Canada Lee, John Garfield, Joe Bromberg and Roman Bohnen had died while under witch-hunters' attacks, and closed:

"I challenge your right to destroy other American artists, including myself. . . . The time has come to fight you and all you stand for. We—and I include the many proud talents of the theatre—will not tolerate your lawlessness and unconstitutional actions. I do not intent to be a martyr. I shall fight to remain in the theatre."

At the day's end Walter expressed surprise at the resistance, recalled the CBS commentator who became a prize informer in the newspaper probe:

"You always hope you'll get another Burdett."

New move on in Texas to liquidate Negro schools

TEXAS SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY's board of directors is typical of most such Negro institutions: predominantly white businessmen whose influence is such that local racists at least tolerate the school. The Negro minority on the board usually is outvoted on such questions as how to treat a rebellious Negro university president, as when Texas Southern last June 8 fired Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier.

Associated Negro Press now quotes a Houston Negro businessman "prominent in Democratic affairs" as charging that Pres. Lanier was fired to insure the university's remaining jimcrow. His statement points to a "definite pattern in the policy set by white members of the board . . . to liquidate the school and merge it with a local white university," presumed by **ANP** to be the University of Houston.

MAY DISAPPEAR: Texas Southern as a Negro school would then disappear "in every phase other than the School of Arts & Sciences, which will be moved to a new location, four or five miles from its present site, where the community will be strictly colored rather than rural."

The statement charges that the policy "reaches into our high schools also," the scheme being to replace a Negro administration with a white one "wherever a high school is tangent to a white community."

A report from Amarillo, meanwhile, announces it as among "a growing number" of towns in Texas which have adopted school desegregation plans. Others are listed as Alpine, Edinburg, Harlingen, Kerrville, Nordheim, Mission and Weslaco. A total of 16 have declared intentions to carry out the Supreme Court school decisions.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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ASP STARLIGHT FORUM, Sun., Aug. 21, 8:30 p.m., 59 W. 71st St., Penthouse 10A. FIRST READING of a new play by Lester Cole, "The Echoing Hills." Refreshments. Contribution: $1.25.

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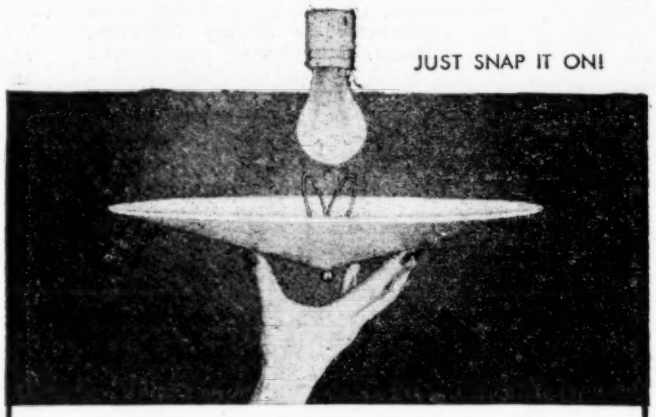

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the SPECTATOR

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BELLS SHOULD BE TOLLING inside the empty heads which turned away carelessly or timidly from the deportation of Cedric Belfrage.

Those who acquiesced to this frenzied punishment for the crime of courageous criticism will be hard put to it to rationalize their inaction. Must an editor be dragged through the streets by howling hoodlums, as was Elijah Lovejoy, before nice people cry "Enough!"? Was Belfrage's persecution less cruel and more American because he was dragged through courts, hearing rooms, detention pens and jails? Is the verdict kinder because it was pronounced in front of the flag by a soft-spoken judge? Will the defenders of the decree pretend it has a basis in decency or tradition?

Let those who like to look at the record go back to December, 1641 and read rules of the Massachusetts General Court as expressed in the "Body of Liberties":

> "Every person within this Jurisdiction, whether inhabitant or forreiner, shall enjoy the same justice and law, that is general for the Plantation, which we constitute one towards another without partialitie or delay."

OR IF THEY WISH to investigate *ad hominem*, let them review the career of another Englishman who fought tyranny with pen and sword—Tom Paine. Cedric Belfrage would smile shyly at the notion that he is a latter-day Tom Paine, for Belfrage is the sort of editor who brings his lunch to his desk every day, yet the point is proved by shining parallels.

Shortly after his arrival in America in 1775 Paine began editing the **"Pennsylvania Magazine,"** concerning himself with all public issues, even the abolition of slavery. Within a year he was writing **"Common Sense,"** that stormbird of the revolutionary war which Washington said "worked a powerful change in the minds of many men."

Washington, D. C. must have feared that Belfrage's editorship of the "National Guardian" might be having a similar effect.

WASHINGTON THE MAN URGED Congress to subsidize Paine so he could continue writing. Even after his outspoken pamphlets had antagonized the government and he had been removed from an appointed office, he was voted more money by Congress for his services to the country, and New York State granted him a farm of three hundred acres at New Rochelle—the confiscated estate of a Tory.

Washington, the city with a heart of plutonium, uses an incredible law and discredited informers to delight the Tories and all but confiscate Belfrage. The man who loves the land is ordered out of it. Buzzards hate the living.

PAINE RETURNED TO ENGLAND to build iron bridges, but before long he was writing of peace and freedom. Does anyone doubt Belfrage will too? His deportation shames us, yet we can take heart from his famous predecessor, who said in **"Common Sense" . . .**

> "The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province or a kingdom. . . 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity is virtually involved in it even to the end of time. . . . Freedom hath been hunted round the globe; Asia and Africa hath long expelled her; Europe regards her like a stranger; and England hath given her warning to depart. Oh receive the fugitive, and prepare an asylum for mankind."

THE SPECTATOR

For Marc

Death is smaller than the flaming life you knew.
Geneva's summit rears on roads you cleared
Toward peace, the tangled growth scythed by truth you
Uttered sharp, standing up, while others feared.
Courage, anchored to your memory, defies
Oppression, the inquisition table,
The dollared deceivers, the servile lies,
The eviction notice, the listed label.
Yours are roots that nourish not on tears alone
Nor grief nor love—but on tasks still undone.

Arthur Schutzer

• • •

On Aug. 9 a group of friends of Vito Marcantonio gathered in tribute at his grave in Woodlawn Cemetery on the first anniversary of his death. Arthur Schutzer, one of Marcantonio's closest associates and his law partner, said:

"WHEREVER SOMEONE PLANTS his feet with granite strength on a hard-fought spot of truth, Marc lives. Wherever someone votes his conscience, Marc lives. Wherever someone routs the inquisitioners and the listers and the labellers with flaming human dignity, Marc lives. Wherever someone stands and fights for freedom and quality in full for all, Marc lives. . . ."